

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07

EB-07 NRC-05 OES-07 FEAE-00 OIC-02 AF-10 ARA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2157

INFO USERDA HQ WASHDC PRIORITY

USERDA HQ GERMANTOWN PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4911

USIAEA

DEPARTMENT PASS IO/SCT CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AORG, PARM, IAEA, SF

SUBJECT: JUNE BOARD MEETING: AGENDA ITEM 7: DESIGNATION OF MEMBERS

REF: A) STATE 138395, B) VIENNA 4789 (NOTAL) IAEA

C) STATE 134273 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: AFTER TWENTY YEARS OF BOARD MEMBERSHIP AS ONE OF THE MOST ADVANCED MEMBER STATES IN NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, SOUTH AFRICA LOST ITS DESIGNATED BOARD SEAT TO EGYPT AS A RESULT OF TWO ROLL-CALL VOTES ON QUESTION OF WHETHER EGYPT OR SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD REPRESENT REGION OF AFRICA. END OF SUMMARY.

1. VOTES WHICH RESULTED IN SOUTH AFRICA'S EXCLUSION FROM 1977-78

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BOARD CULMINATED TWO AND A HALF HOURS OF TENDENTIOUS AND HIGHLY POLARIZED DISCUSSION IN WHICH SOME THIRTY OUT OF THIRTY-FOUR BOARD MEMBERS PARTICIPATED. FIRST VOTE, CALLED FOR BY SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNOR, WAS ON AMENDMENT PROPOSED BY HIM WHICH WOULD SUBSTITUTE SOUTH AFRICA AS DESIGNEE FOR AF, FOR EGYPT WHICH CHAIRMAN HAD INCLUDED IN HIS LIST OF DESIGNEES. ROLL CALL VOTE ON HIS PROPOSED

AMENDMENT WAS: IN FAVOR - 13(U.S.), OPPOSED - 19, ONE ABSTENTION (CHILE), ONE NOT ENTITLED TO VOTE FOR NON-PAYMENT OF ITS ASSESSMENT (COLUMBIA). SECOND VOTE, TAKEN AT INSISTANCE OF NIGERIAN GOVERNOR, WAS AN ACCEPTANCE OF CHAIRMAN'S LIST (NAMING EGYPT) AND, EXCEPT FOR ABSTENTION ON PART OF JAPANESE DELEGATE HAD SAME RESULT: IN FAVOR - 19, OPPOSED - 12(U.S.), ABSTENTION - 2.

2. DISCUSSION ON THIS ITEM WAS DELAYED UNTIL LATE AFTERNOON OF JUNE 16 AT CHAIRMAN'S SUGGESTION TO ALLOW MORE TIME FOR COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT TO BE REACHED. FACED WITH SITUATION IN WHICH, FAR FROM CONSENSUS BEING ACHIEVED, POSITIONS WERE OBVIOUSLY POLARIZING FURTHER, BOARD CHAIRMAN CISSE OPTED FOR COURSE DESCRIBED PARA 2(A) REF B, STATING TO BOARD THAT WHILE HIS CONSULTATIONS HAD DISCLOSED A NUMBER OF RESERVATIONS AS TO WHICH STATE SHOULD BE DESIGNATED FOR THE REGION OF AFRICA, HE NONETHELESS BELIEVED THAT A MAJORITY OF BOARD MEMBERS WOULD WISH TO DESIGNATE A LIST INCLUDING THE NAMES OF THOSE PRESENTLY DESIGNATED, (WHICH HE THEN READ OFF) EXCEPT THAT EGYPT SHOULD REPLACE SOUTH AFRICA.

3. SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNOR (VON SCHIRNDING) INTERVENED WITH BITTER AND STRONGLY-WORDED PREPARED STATEMENT (TEXT TRANSMITTED VIA AIRGRAM) PROTESTING CHAIRMAN'S INCLUSION OF EGYPT AS FLAGRANT VIOLATION OF STATUTE. ALL GOVERNORS, HE SAID, WERE AWARE THAT HIS COUNTRY WAS THE ONLY ONE IN REGION ENTITLED TO DESIGNATION BY TERMS OF ARTICLE VI OF STATUTE AND HAD BEEN SO DESIGNATED FOR LAST TWENTY YEARS. ATTEMPT TO REMOVE SOUTH AFRICA WAS QUOTE RUTHLESS POLITICLA
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VENDETTA UNQUOTE. LED BY GROUP OF STATES THEMSELVES GUILTY OF FORMS OF OPPRESSION AND HAVING LITTLE REGARD FOR STATUTE OF AGENCY. IF SUCCESSFUL, IT WOULD SOUND DEATH-KNELL OF AGENCY AS A CREDIBLE, OBJECTIVE ORGANIZATION - A FACT WHICH WOULD NOT BE LOST ON STATES WHICH, LIKE SOUTH AFRICA, WERE BEING PRESSED TO SUBMIT ALL THEIR NUCLEAR FACILITIES TO IAEA SAFEGUARDS. EXPRESSING PERSONAL ADMIRATION FOR SENEGALESE CHAIRMAN CISSE, HE STATED HIS REGRETS THAT HE SHOULD HAVE TO PRESIDE OVER QUOTE CHARADE UNQUOTE IN THIS TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION OF COMING INTO FORCE OF STATUTE OF AGENCY, WHICH SAG HAD HELPED TO SHAPE. RESERVING HIS GOV'TS RIGHT TO APPEAL CASE TO ICJ (PURSUAN ARTICLE XVII OF STATUTE),

HE THEN PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO CHAIRMAN'S PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD REINSTATE SOUTH AFRICA IN PLACE OF EGYPT ON CHAIRMAN'S LIST AND ASKED FOR ROLL-CALL VOTE ON HIS AMENDMENT.

4. ENSUING DISCUSSION WAS ESSENTIALLY SERIES OF EXPLANATIONS OF POSITION PRIOR TO VOTE. NIGERIAN GOVERNOR LED OFF RESPONSE

IN WHICH HE WAS SUPPORTED BY MOST OF GROUP OF 77 AND
EE REPS (PAKISTAN, USSR, POLAND, CZECHOSLAVAKIA, LIBYA,
EGYPT, YUGOSLAVIA, INDIA, MALAYSIA, INDONESIA,
PHILIPPINES, BANGLADESH, PANAMA, MEXICO, NIGER, SENEGAL).
MAIN POINTS OF THIS SPEAKER AND HIS SUPPORTERS WERE,
OMITTING MOST FLAMBOYANT RHETORIC, (A) UNSUITABILITY OF
SAG AS QUOTE INTERNATIONAL LEPER UNQUOTE TO BE REPRESENTED
IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, LET ALONE IN GOVERNING
COUNCILS (B) APPEAL TO HIGHER LAW THAN STATUTE WHICH
DISQUALIFIES SAG IN NAME OF HUMANITY (C) ASSERTION THAT GEN, CONF.
RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT RIO (G.C.(XX)/RES/336) CALLED FOR
PUNITIVE ACTION AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, AND TOOK PRECEDENCE
OVER STATUTE, (D) CONTENTION THAT TIME HAS COME TO RECOGNIZE
THAT IAEA CANNOT QUOTE ISOLATE UNQUOTE ITSELF FROM WORLD
COMMUNITY, THAT TECHNICAL SUBJECT MATTER CAN NO LONGER BE
DIVORCED FROM POLITICAL REALITIES. SARDONIC CONTRIBUTION
TO THIS LINE OF ARGUMENT WAS PROVIDED BY EGYPTIAN REP
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(SIRRY) WHO SAID HE RECALLED THAT SO-CALLED OBJECTIVE
CRITERIA FOR DESIGNATION WAS DEvised BY 1956 COMMITTEE,
IN WHICH SOUTH AFRICA PARTICIPATED AND WHICH LED TO
QUOTE PRMANENT UNQUOTE DESIGNATION OF ALL COMMITTEE
MEMBERS.

5. OF THOSE SUPPORTING SOUTH AFRICA'S REDESIGNATION CANADA
WAS FIRST TO JOIN BATTLE, ARGUING THAT WHETHER OR NOT
SAG WAS QUOTE REPRESENTATIVE UNQUOTE OF AF REGION,

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION W OF 2 VIENNA 4911

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DUTY OF BOARD UNDER ARTICLE VI WAS BASED SOLELY ON
TECHNICAL AND OBJECTIVE CRITERIA. ANY OTHER COURSE
WOULD BE DANGEROUS TO FUTURE OF AGENCY. SPEAKING ON
BEHALF OF ALL EC MEMBER STATES, UK GOVERNOR (HERZIG)
CONDEMNED APARTHEID BUT STATED THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF
ARTICLE VI WERE CLEAR AND COULD NOT BE RATIONALIZED AWAY.
WITH DUE RESPECT TO EGYPT, THEREFORE, EC STATES WOULD
SUPPORT SOUTH AFRICA. STATEMENTS FOLLOWED, ALONG SIMILAR
LINES, BY REP OF AUSTRALIA, DENMARK, FRG, FRANCE, JAPAN,
PORTUGAL, NETHERLANDS, U.S. AUSTRALIAN REP (FURLONGER)
OBSERVED THAT REAL ISSUE BEFORE BOARD WAS NOT ACCEPTABILITY
OF APARTHEID BUT THE OBJECTIVE FACTS RELEVANT TO CRITERIA
FOR DESIGNATION. ATTEMPTS HAD BEEN MADE WITHOUT SUCCESS
HE SAID, TO ACCOMMODATE WISHES OF AF GROUP FOR A SEPARATE
DESIGNATED SEAT. WITH FAILURE OF THESE ATTEMPTS, AUSTRALIA
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WOULD HAVE TO VOTE STRICTLY ON THE BASIS OF THOSE CRITERIA.
FRENCH GOVERNOR (GOLDSCHMIDT), STATED THAT HE COULD NOT
APPROVE A LIST WHICH OMITTED SOUTH AFRICA, A STATE WHICH
WAS SUPPOSEDLY GUARDIAN OF STATUTE, SHOULD BE GUILTY OF

ITS VIOLATION. U.S. GOVERNOR DELIVERED STATEMENT, DERIVED
FROM MOST OF POINTS IN STATEMENT SUGGESTED REF C, STRESSING
SEPARATE PUBLIC STATEMENTS U.S. HAS MADE ABHORRING POLICY
OF APARTHEID AND ITS PAST AND CONTINUING EFFORTS TO
CONTRIBUTE TO SOLUTION OF COMPLEX PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN

AFRICA, BUT NOTING FURTHER THAT OBLIGATIONS OF BOARD
PURSUANT ARTICLE VI OF STATUTE WERE CLEARLY BASED ON
TECHNICAL CRITERIA. U.S. FELT THAT SOUTH AFRICA MET
THOSE CRITERIA.

6. CONCLUSION OF DISCUSSION WAS FOLLOWED BY EXASPERATING
SERIES OF POINTS OF ORDER LED BY NIGERIAN GOVERNOR,
AND CONFUSION IN SECRETARIAS TO VOTING PROCEDURE.

AFTER STRONG PLEA BY U.S. GOVERNOR FOR SOME MEASURE OF RESPECT FOR RULES OF PROCEDURE IT WAS AGREED THAT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULE 44 A ROLL-CALL VOTE SHOULD BE HELD ON ON SOUTH AFRICAN AMENDMENT TO CHAIRMAN'S PROPOSAL, I.E. TO SUBSTITUTE SOUTH AFRICA FOR EGYPT AS DESIGNATED MEMBER FROM AFRICA. FOLLOWING THIS VOTE AND AT INSISTENCE OF NIGERIAN GOVERNOR, VOTE WAS THEN TAKEN ON CHAIRMAN'S ORIGINAL PROPOSAL. AT CONCLUSION OF VOTE, IT WAS AGREED THAT EGYPT HAD BEEN DESIGNATED AND THAT RECORD OF THIS VOTE WOULD CONSTITUTE REPORT CALLED FOR BY OPERATIVE PARA OF RESOLUTION OF LAST YEAR'S SESSION OF GEN. CON. CHAIRMAN THEN ADJOURNED BOARD SESSION IMMEDIATELY (LEAVING NO OPPORTUNITY FOR U.S. REP TO MAKE ALL POINTS CONTAINED IN STATEMENT TRANSMITTED REF C AS REVISED).

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7. COMMENT: OUTCOME OF THIS ISSUE, CAPPING YEAR-LONG EFFORT ON PART OF IMITANT LDC'S, HURPRISED NO ONE. AS REPORTED BY MISSION LAST FALL, ACQUIESCENCE OF ENTIRE GENERAL CONFERENCE IN RESOLUTION CALLING ON BOARD TO REVIEW CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP OF SOUTH AFRICAHIN AGENCY SECURED THAT CONTINUED MEMBERSHIP FOR 1976-77 AT PRICE OF ITS EXCLUSION FROM 1977-78 BOARD.

ON THE OTHER HAND, IF VOTES REVEALED UNANIMITY ON PART OF LDC'S IT ALSO REVEALED WHAT SEEMS TO US AS UNUSUAL DEGREE OF SOLIDARITY AMONG SUPPORTERS OF INTEGRITY OF STATUTE. VOTE SPREAD CAN HARDLY BE TERMED OVERWHELMING VICTORY BY LDC'S. ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL, IMPORTANT LA MEMBERS OF BOARD, WHILE VOTING WITH LDC'S, REMAINED SILENT DURING DEBATE.

PERFORMANCE OF SENEGALESE CHAIRMAN WAS SCRRUPULOUSLY PROFESSIONAL AND NON-PARTISAN THROUGHOUT. EFFORTS ON HIS PART TO REACH COMPROMOSE ON THIS ISSUE, WHILE UNSUCCESSFUL, REFLECTED HIS STATESMANSHIP. TAPE

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